1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

PLATE XXIV

789
532

1. Rain-stone used in the weather magic described on p. 635, of which two sides are carved to represent the human face, the third a shark, and the fourth (not seen in the illustration) a caterpillar

782
491
531

2. Wooden hatchet used for human sacrifice, once belonging to Asaor and given to the author by his descendant Pelur." Now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology Layard Collection, No. 1916, 126, 252. Details of the incised design are shown in Fig. 59

[facing p. 623]

1; Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

CHAPTER XXIV

MAGIC

I WAS not long enough on Vao to go at all deeply into the question of what is commonly called magic. This will be treated more fully in a future volume on Atchin, where I recorded a number of cases in some detail. As the subject is of no little importance, however, with regard not only to Small Island culture but also to an understanding of the psychic forces still under control by primitive people, I propose in this chapter, after first giving a brief record of the few cases that came under my notice on Vao, to draw to some extent on my knowledge of magic among neighbouring communities, to discuss one or two outstanding features common to the magic of all the Small Islands.

In the Small Islands of Vao and Atchin magic and medicine are both called by the same name, namely *man*; in Vao usually combined with the indefinite article *ne* as *ne-man*, and in Atchin with *ni* to form *ni-man*. Philologically this is the same word as the Banks Islands *mana*, both being derived from the Indonesian *manang*, meaning "power."[1] Whatever may be its significance elsewhere, in the Small Islands the word has an extremely wide meaning, embracing powers which, according to our way of thinking, are both occult through their connexion with dreams and ghosts on the one hand and with unspecified magical forces on the other, and practical through knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs. This power may be used either for good (as in healing the sick) or for evil (as in sorcery), and either in the interest of private individuals (as in love magic) or of public welfare or disaster (as in weather magic).

The word *man* in all cases implies the possession both of psychic power and of knowledge of the appropriate ritual acts and incantations, and, in the case of many "cures," of the appropriate physical remedy as well. The same word is also applied to the magical or curative process itself. Thus, any item of magical procedure may be called *ne-man*, be this a method of divining on important occasions or simply a cure for toothache. Nor are its practitioners confined to a single sex. Thus, we have already seen how midwives are called *vene na man*, or "women with power (or knowledge),"[2] and the whole of weather magic is said to have been

[1] For the linguistic history of this word see Capell, 2. The Small Islands *man* used in this sense is quite distinct from the other *man*, meaning "bird," derived from the Indonesian *manuk*.

[2] See p. 173.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

founded by a woman.[1] But more usually the practitioner is a man, called *mara man*,[2] meaning "man of power," or, if we translate *man* as "magic," then literally "magician." We have already seen such an expert magician at work in the making of upright slit gongs.[3] We have seen also the prominent rôle played by a special type of magician called *na-wogh* in charming each Maki-man during the period of feverish activity leading up to the great sacrifice in order to assist them in collecting the correct number of sacrificial boars.[4] Yet another specialist, this time called *mara kur*, is called in to perform, with magic rites, the delicate task of exactly placing the outrigger booms on the hull of a new sea-going canoe,[5] and later to ensure fertility in pigs and successful trading by placing a sow, with due rites, in the bow.[6] At death yet another magician presents charmed leaves to those who have buried the corpse in order that they may purify themselves by washing with these leaves in the sea.[7]

These are but a few instances of the immense variety of magical rites practised by individuals in the interests of the community. Innumerable other rites exist, covering almost every aspect of life, ranging from those of public utility to those applicable only to individuals, and it is safe to say that there is *no* adult member of the community unacquainted with some form of magic which he performs on occasion either for his own benefit or for that of others, in return for a fee commensurate with the importance of his act.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME MAGICAL ACTS

I have unfortunately no detailed information of how, in the cases cited above, the magicians set about their work. I have, however, a few details from Vao regarding (1) the appeal to ancestral and other ghosts in case of sickness, (2) other cures, and (3) weather magic.

(1) Appeal to Ancestral and Other Ghosts in Case of Sickness

This needs the assistance of a diviner to find out what ghost it is that is causing the sickness.

As we have seen, the only kind of death that is considered as being due to what we should consider "natural" causes is that of an old man who dies in the fulness of time without visible disease. In such a case it is recognised that there is nothing that can be done to prolong life. He duly settles his affairs, as described on p. 536, and his kinsmen's

[1] See pp. 633-4.
[2] Compare Banks Islands and Maewo *gismana*, Santa Cruz *mendeka*, Florida *mane kisu* and *mane nggeha vigona*, all meaning "magician" (Codrington, 3, pp. 195-201).
[3] See pp. 354 ff. [4] See pp. 379, 422. [5] See p. 466.
[6] See p. 467. [7] See p. 560.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

(3) Weather Magic

The only other case of magical procedure actually recorded on Vao was a brief description of weather magic, including firstly a short account dealing with the origin of magic for making wind, and secondly some of the songs together with a short account of the ritual used for making rain.

(a) The Origin of Wind and Rain Magic on Vao

We have already seen the strength of the belief in weather magic in the tales regarding the submergence of Tolamp.[1] A man may either, as in this case, make weather magic on his own account, or else may do it for others on payment of a heavy fee. It is a dangerous operation, however, for if by mistake the weather he produces becomes too turbulent he may be held responsible for the damage.[2] The first Vao man said to have learnt the magic for making wind was one named Bu-wush, who is said also to have been the first to have made rain, so that it would appear that wind and rain magic form part of the same system.

The tale told regarding the origin of wind magic tells how this man Bu-wush belonged to the Vao village of Peter-ihi, and was married to a woman of Lavame. Lavame, it will be remembered,[3] is the name of a former Vao village whose inhabitants, after a war with another village called Handillagh, left Vao and took up their abode on the mainland. At the time to which this tale relates, however, they were still on Vao.

Now Bu-wush and the Lavame woman had a daughter named Le-taghar. It is not stated to whom she was married, though, according to a statement made later in the tale that she used the beach called Kowu, it would appear that he belonged to the Superior Side of Vao. The story runs that one day Le-taghar went to the mainland village of Buaror, near which she found some mushrooms (*na-mbor*) growing on the ground, and, picking them, came home with them, meaning to cook them in a pudding for her husband. But he was afraid, and refused. So she took them to her woman's fire and cooked them in a pudding for herself, and ate them.

That night she dreamt, and in her dreams a number of ghosts (*ta-mat*) came to her and told her how to make rain and winds, singing the songs appropriate to each kind of weather magic. So henceforth, whenever

[1] See pp. 575 ff.

[2] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 246) gives a case in point that occurred on February 8th, 1928, when a certain magician named Sum-ta-mat, having engaged to make wind for a whaler (such as the natives (see p. 456) now use instead of the old sea-going canoes) which was about to set out on a long voyage, "made too much, so that what should have been a moderate breeze turned first into a squall and then a cyclone. The cyclone drove the whaler on to a reef where she was smashed to bits. The owners held the magician responsible for the loss and forced him to refund the value of the boat by paying them ten pigs each worth £20."

[3] See pp. 59, 80.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

she wanted to go to Buaror, she made the north-east wind called *rualo*,[1] and, holding a coconut leaf up in her canoe (she did not even need to bother to put up a sail), was blown over to Leuru, which is the beach for Buaror. And when she wanted to come back, she made the south-west wind called *gharu*, and was blown back to the beach Kowu on Vao. And all the people saw that she always had the wind she wanted. And they suspected that she made the winds herself, and they asked her, and she said, "Yes." But she would not teach the magic to her husband, for she said, "I offered him the mushrooms, but he would not eat them. Therefore I will not teach the songs to him, but I will teach them to my own people." So she taught the secret to her father, Bu-wush, of Peter-ihi, and after that he was able to make the winds and rain.

One of the most striking features of this tale of origin lies in the fact that the individual who first discovered weather magic was a woman. Weather magic is now, so far as I know, entirely in the hands of men, nor is there any indication that it was ever practised by women. The fact that the transmitter was a woman would seem, therefore, to indicate some connexion between the origin of this form of magic and matrilineal descent, and this supposition is supported by her name Le-taghar, connecting her very definitely with the dual organisation creator-deity Ta-ghar. It is, moreover, of interest to find that according to Codrington (3, p. 199) the healing off the sick belongs in Oba to the *tangaloe ngovo*, "to those, that is to say, who have the knowledge of the songs and charms, believed to have come down from Tagaro himself, by which *mana* is conveyed and applied."[2] The significance of this will be seen later when we come to examine the cultural basis of magic.[3]

(*b*) BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MAGIC FOR MAKING RAIN

I have no record of the rites connected with the making of wind, but I have recorded briefly two of the four elements[4] that go towards the making of rain, namely the concrete medium containing the "power" together with the actions performed over it, and the songs sung to encourage rain from several specified quarters. My informant was an old man named Wu-wushi,[5] of Peter-ihi, a rain-maker who had inherited the art in direct succession from the Bu-wush mentioned above as being the first weather magician on Vao.

[1] All winds have names, according to the direction in which they blow. A full list in the Atchin language will be given in a future volume.

[2] But note that, according to Godefroy, Ta-ghar has no power to cause the rain to fall (see p. 217).

[3] See p. 640. [4] See p. 641.

[5] It is interesting to note the similarity of this name with that of Bu-wush, the first practitioner. It is just possible, therefore, that the name may be a kind of magical title. One of Wu-wushi's other names was Sum-res. Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 238) records the names of two others, Sum-ta-mat and Melte-lil-nale [my hyphens].

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

(1) *Concrete medium and action.*

A rain-maker on Vao is called *bet-ghate*, meaning "one stone," and the medium through which he works is a diminutive stone image of phallic proportions, which is regarded as representing both the founder of the rite and all those who in turn have used it, to all of whom the petition for rain is made. One such stone obtained on Atchin is illustrated in Plate XXIV. It is made of what looks like lava with a coating of brown paint. It is 4¼ inches high and 2 inches broad, shaped like a cylinder with a flat base so that it can stand upright, and rounded at the top. Two opposite sides of the cylinder are carved to represent the human face in a conventional manner called *wena*,[1] a third side is carved to represent a shark, and the fourth side, opposite to the shark, is incised with a design said to represent a hairy caterpillar called *shu-shu*. The uncarved portions of the stone on all sides excepting that depicting the caterpillar are incised with criss-cross lines representing a kind of reed fence called *nier merer*, the right to use which is possessed by those of high Maki rank.[2]

FIG. 60

Design representing a hairy caterpillar called *shu-shu* incised on the fourth side (opposite the shark) of the rain-stone illustrated in Plate XXIV.

This stone is placed in the midst of a pudding (*na-longk*), from which it is supposed to eat. Then 4 young coconuts in the stage of growth called *we-garat*, in which the milk has not yet begun to solidify, are placed upon it, and the pudding containing the stone image together with the 4 young coconuts are all wrapped in umbrella-palm leaves (*ro-mbun*). At low tide, the rain-maker takes this parcel and places it on a rock. Then he shuts his eyes and sings in a low voice the song appropriate to the

[1] This and the following two terms are in the Atchin language.

[2] Deacon (4, pp. 664, 670) mentions two stones used for sun magic in Lambumbu. He also figures (Fig. 40) a cylindrical black polished stone, uncarved save for one bevelled conical end, used in garden magic to ensure a prolific yield in yams, from South-West Malekula. Rivers (1, vol. II, p. 406) speaks of "stones or other objects which are believed to possess *mana*" in the Banks Islands.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

789 particular kind of rain it is desired to produce. While singing, he taps with his hands upon the 4 young coconuts through their umbrella-leaf wrapping, to symbolise the pattering of the rain upon the ground. This he repeats over and over again till chased away by the rising tide. Then he retires, leaving the image there surrounded by its pudding and the 4 coconuts, having first covered them with heavy stones in order to prevent them from being washed away.

If no rain comes, the process is repeated on the following day, and if necessary again on the next. If on the fourth day there is still no rain, while singing his song he will spear the pudding as if to break the clouds. The same will be done on the fifth day, and if the rain still cannot be induced to fall it is evident that he has failed, and that there is some magician stronger than himself who is engaged in making the sun to shine.

If he still desires to make rain he must start all over again, and this time will choose a creek on the mainland, in the hopes that fresh water will be more efficacious than salt.[1]

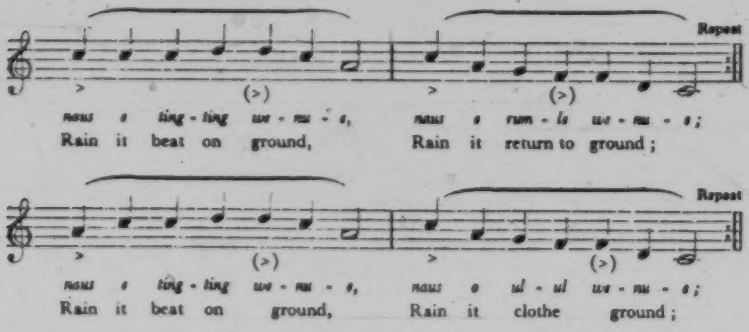
The Songs.

789 I recorded three songs, each for a different kind of rain, all of which
533 are remarkable for their comparative simplicity both in melody and in rhythm, in which they contrast vividly with most Small Island songs.

539 The first song, No. 9, is for obtaining what is called the rain of Vao, that is to say a general rain on a calm day without wind from any particular direction. Note the staccato form of the personal appeal to the founder, Bu-wush.

SONG 9

For "the rain of Vao" (i.e. rain without wind)


Repeat
naus o ting-ting we-nu-o, naus o rum-la we-nu-o;
Rain it beat on ground, Rain it return to ground;
Repeat
naus o ting-ting we-nu-o, naus o ul-ul we-nu-o;
Rain it beat on ground, Rain it clothe ground;

[1] Compare the report by Deacon (4, p. 670) that "a certain magician could bring about wet weather by pouring water on to a certain stone." Harrisson, in a written communication, mentions the spitting of kava juice towards each point of the compass. The use of kava in weather magic on Atchin will be described in a future volume.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

naus o si wul . . . . . , ra ngen, BU-WUSH, pe - tar - si - o, si wo,
Rain it come back, let us eat, BUWUSH, Peter - ihi, thanks,
na bot na ve - na pe - tar - si - o.
the founder (of) the place (?) Peter - ihi.
naus e rum - le n'we - no - en,
Rain it return to the ground this,
naus e se-len we - no - en, naus e se-len we - no - en, naus e ul - ul we - no - en.
Rain it way to ground this, Rain it way to ground this, Rain it clothe ground this.

789
533
539

The words divide themselves into three verses:

Naus e ting-ting wenu(e),
Naus e rumle wenu(e);
Naus e ting-ting wenu(e),
Naus o ul-ul wenu(e).

Naus o si wul re ngen.
Buwush, Petar-si-o, siwa,
Na bot na ve na Petarsio.

Naus e rumle n'weno-en,
Naus e selen weno-en,
Naus e selen weno-en,
Naus e ul-ul weno-en.

"Let rain beat on the ground,
Let rain return to the ground,
Let rain beat on the ground,
Let rain clothe the ground.

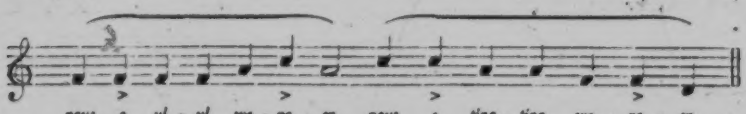
"Let rain come back, that we may eat.
Buwush, of Peter-ihi, thanks,
Founder of Peter-ihi.

"Let rain return to this ground,
Let rain make its way to this ground,
Let rain make its way to this ground,
Let rain clothe this ground."

The first and third verses represent the practitioner's desire, and the second his appeal and professed gratitude to his predecessors in the rite.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

The whole song is in the usual archaic poetic diction. Bu-wush, whose name appears in the second stanza, is, as we have seen, reputed to have been the first man to have made wind and rain magic on Vao. The song is repeated a number of times, and at each repetition the name of Bu-wush is changed for that of each weather magician in turn through whom the stone image and the knowledge of the rite have descended to the present practitioner. Some of these names, on the occasion on which I heard the song, were repeated more than once. They were in groups of 4, namely Meten, Memes, Itöm, Meten; and Iwa, Meten, Nigha, Itöm. At the end of each group of 4 names two lines were repeated, ending on a characteristically weak note, thus:



"Let rain clothe this ground,
Let rain beat on this ground."

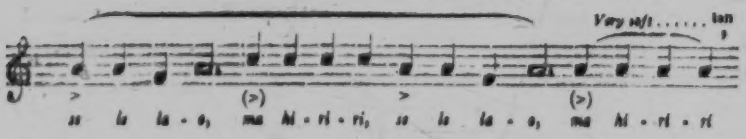
It will be noted how the name of the practitioner's village, Peter-ihi, is rendered by the archaic *Petar-si-o.*[1] *Ting-ting* is a word commonly used for the beating of gongs, and *ul* of articles of clothing, i.e. men's penis-wrappers and women's mat-skirts.[2] Of special interest is the word *siwa*, here rendered "thanks," a word of unknown origin, noted elsewhere throughout these volumes, indicating heartfelt gratitude.

The other two rain songs which I recorded are:

Song 10, for rain coming from the direction of the island of Oba, i.e. from the north-east. I am unable to translate this. Though the melody is very simple, constructed as it is with only three notes, there is peculiar charm in the very softly sung passages occurring on the words *ma hi ri ri.*

SONG 10

To obtain rain from the direction of the island of Oba (i.e. from the North-east)



[1] Compare *Peter-asi* in Song 6, p. 404.

[2] The danger of translating such archaic words without accurate knowledge of the poetic dialect is well illustrated by the fact that the words *re ngen*, in the first line of the second stanza, mean, in the language of today, "in it," but in the poetic dialect represent the modern *re ghan*, "let us eat."

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

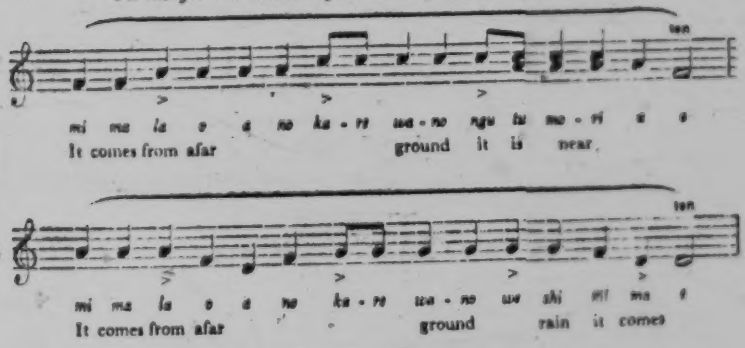
789
533
539

Very soft . . . . . tam
ma hi - rir lin - dron - dro ma - hi - ri - ri mi - hi - rir lau - se
ma hi - ri - ri se la la e ma hi - ri - ri se la la e
ma hi - rir lau se ma hi - ri - ri se la la e ma hi - ri - ri
Very soft . . . . . .
se la la e ma hi - ri - ri.

Song 11, for rain coming from the direction of the island of Raga. Of the archaic words of this song I am able to suggest the translation of some only, which appear to indicate a coaxing attitude, suggesting that the rain, though it has far to travel, cannot be long in coming. It is repeated over and over again.

SONG 11

For rain from the direction of the island of Raga (i.e. from the East)


tam
mi ma la e a no ka - re wa - no ngu lu mo - ri a e
It comes from afar ground it is near
tam
mi ma la e a no ka - re wa - no uv shi ni ma e
It comes from afar ground rain it comes

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

THE CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF MAGIC

In view of the very small amount of information on magic recorded actually on Vao, and of the apparent complexity of the whole subject, it may seem out of place to venture any further remarks about it. Nevertheless it is necessary to show briefly its setting with regard to other elements of culture described in this book. For this reason, and since certain basic features of magical procedure are common to all the Small Islands, I propose now to draw to some extent on my knowledge of magic on Atchin in order to show in what relation this stands to other elements of Small Island culture as a whole. The psychological "preparation" undertaken by the individual magician by means of fasting and abstinence and other efforts towards achieving the psychic control needed to give effect to the magical act is a subjective process which, though briefly referred to on p. 576, I did not investigate sufficiently to elucidate further. What I intend to call attention to here is, on the contrary, the cultural basis of magic as seen in the object or objects to which appeal is made—in other words, the objective psychic forces which the native himself thinks he is activating when performing his magical act.

Definition of Magic.

In discussing the difference between magic and religion Rivers subscribes to the view that actions may be described as magic "if they are believed to be in themselves sufficient to produce the desired effect, so that any element of appeal or supplication is absent from the mind of the agent. Religious actions, on the other hand, involve a definite appeal to a higher power." He adds: "The obvious objection to this mode of distinguishing religion from magic is that it depends on a factor, the mental attitude of the agent, of which we have, and can have, no direct knowledge." [1] Deacon does not attempt any definition at all, merely pointing out that the commonly accepted statement that magic includes "that body of ritual activities by means of which the native believes himself to be able to control nature without the intervention of any spiritual beings" is *not* applicable to Malekula. Referring primarily to West and South-West Malekula, he points out that the natives there "class together under a single term a number of ritual performances, some of which would be included as magical in accordance with this interpretation of the word but of which others because they are accompanied by invocations to a *temes* (ghost) or other spirit would be excluded from it." [2]

This is also the case in the Small Islands, where there is one single word *man* that refers to all forces of a psychic nature by which the natives seek to control the unseen phenomena of life. We have already seen two cases in which this force operates, namely in the divining rite to find out

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 403. [2] Deacon, 4, p. 663.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

what ghost has entered a man to cause his sickness, and in the ritual of weather magic, in which appeal is made to the ghosts of all previous practitioners but which also includes other elements of a more purely "magical" nature. In other forms of magic such as sorcery, fertility magic to promote the growth of pigs,[1] "cures" based largely on "sympathetic" symbolism, there is a gradual progression from the direct appeal to specified ghosts to cases in which no ghosts are mentioned at all. In all these, however, the general pattern of the rite is so similar that it is impossible to draw any line other than a purely arbitrary one (to which the natives themselves do not agree) between acts which quite clearly are based on an appeal to ghosts and those which apparently are not.

In attempting to solve this problem I propose to put forward two considerations that have not, I think, received due attention in the past.

The pattern of the rite.

The first is the question as to why there should be any fixed procedure at all. For it is the essence of every magical act that it depends for its efficacy on an exact repetition down to the minutest details of an accepted ritual pattern. This does not apply only to the accepted ritual pattern of all magical procedure in a given locality, but also to the often extremely complicated details of each particular rite.

In the Small Islands the general ritual pattern consists of four main elements, namely:

(*a*) Abstinence and fasting and the observance of various taboos.

(*b*) The concrete medium (such as a stone which may or may not be the dwelling-place of a ghost, a kava root, a leaf, an infusion), together with the ritual acts performed over it.

(*c*) A song or incantation, the words of which are fixed but for (in certain cases) the addition of the name of the new practitioner to the long list of previous practitioners each time the ownership of the rite changes hands (usually from father to son but sometimes from mother's brother to sister's son).

(*d*) A muttered prayer (addressed to specified ancestors in all important rites, but in lesser ones apparently to the concrete medium).

Of these, all but the prayer are rigidly fixed. The prayer only is left as a general framework within whose limits the practitioner is free to express his own individual personality in the form of the actual words chosen. The rules of abstinence are comparatively constant in all rites, though varying in number and intensity with the importance of the rite. The concrete mediums are also, though very numerous, limited in number,

[1] Compare pigs as fertility symbols (p. 263).

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

789

the same type of medium being used in a number of different magical procedures, though in each case in a somewhat different way. The one element that is entirely different for each magical act is the song or incantation. It is therefore this song which (in the absence of inherited concrete mediums such as the stone image used in weather magic) is the magician's best "stock in trade," acting in a way as the hall-mark of each individual rite. The song is always sung in a low voice so that no one, not even the patient in the case of curative magic, shall hear the words or, though aware that the incantation is in progress, even properly catch the tune, and it is the knowledge of this that constitutes the essential point in the retention or transmission of a practitioner's "copyright" in any given magical performance. For, like everything else in Malekula, in addition to the profits accruing to a magician through the practice of his art in the service of others, magical knowledge is a commercial asset in that it can be sold, and while the more important rites will only be transmitted to a son or a sister's son or other near relative, knowledge of the lesser rites may be transmitted to anyone willing to pay a high enough price.

The ghostly hierarchy of previous magicians.

To the question "Why should there be any fixed ritual, and what is the sanction for it?" the native has only one answer, namely, "This is the way it has always been done," or at least "how the last practitioner taught me." The sanction from the native point of view in each case depends on the goodwill of all the ghosts of those who have previously performed the rite and jealously guard the forms which they have handed down, visiting sickness on those who offend. This is quite definitely the case in those more important forms of magic in which the repetition of the names of all previous practitioners are recited and whose help is thus sought for the successful outcome of the rite. But it would appear to be also the case in those less important rites in which such names are not recited, the only difference being that in the case of the more important rites the names are remembered, while in the case of the less important rites, which are also those the ownership of which changes hands the most often, they are not. In this respect, the bond between the past and present practitioners of any one rite may be likened to that existing between the members of a religious hierarchy as opposed to that existing between members of a kinship group. For while the bonds joining the members of a kinship group, whatever the particular kinship regulations may be, are bonds of flesh and blood and so unalterable within any given system, those joining successive practitioners of a given magical procedure are spiritual in so far as the succession is not immutably fixed by biological considerations, but lies within the personal choice of each man. Thus, as in the laying on of hands in our own episcopal hierarchy, the candidate

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

has first to receive the sanction of the last in the long line of practitioners before being invested with the power to act. It is true that in many cases a man hands on his magical knowledge to his own son or to his sister's son. But nepotism is a world-wide phenomenon, and the point to notice is that he need not, and that the choice of a successor lies within the personal competence of each individual practitioner.

This principle applies in every case, whether the names of those forming the ghostly hierarchy of previous practitioners reaching back into the unrecorded past are remembered or not. It would appear, therefore, that in each magical act, whether the material medium be a stone believed to contain the essence of all previous practitioners or simply a piece of kava root or leaf used in a traditional manner, and whether the ghosts of the dead are appealed to by name or not, the cultural sanction comes from the ever-watchful ghosts. But whereas in matters concerning everyday social life the important ghosts are those of direct ancestors, in magic the ghosts are those belonging to the spiritual hierarchy formed by all previous practitioners, chief among whom, where known, is the supposed "inventor" of the rite.

The Number 4

This brings us to the second point in our consideration of the cultural basis of magic, and in this it will not be quite so easy to draw a clear distinction between cultural and psychological factors. I have referred to the supposed "inventor" of a rite. Now it is clear that, though without doubt individuals must have added their quota towards building up the huge corpus of magical procedure, the basic conceptions must have grown out of something much deeper than mere conscious "invention." The fact which I wish now to bring to the notice of the reader is clearly not one that could ever have been "invented," but has to do with something much more fundamental in human nature. This is the magical use of numbers.

Brief survey of the use of numbers.

The careful reader of this work cannot but have been struck with the ritual importance of numbers. Thus, we have seen how 5 is the number of re-birth and resurrection in the older forms of Small Island culture and 7 in the later; how 10 is connected with the monolith-Maki; how 30 in the sense of thirty days (theoretically the moon's cycle) is connected with periods of re-birth involving seclusion and abstinence; how 50 and 100 are ritually important as being multiples of 5 and 10; and how two different systems of numbering can become fused as in the combination of 7 and 10 leading to the 17, 27 or 37-day period elapsing between the announcing of the great Maki sacrifice and its performance.